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A
LETTER

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir R-- W--, &c.

Upon the present Posture of

A F F A I R S,

Wherein, amongst other Things, the

C O N V E N T I O N

Will be set in a clear Light.

Calculated for the Information of all
true Lovers of their Country, &c.

By CALEB DANVERS, Esq;

Iniquissimam Pacem iustissimo Bello antefero.

L O N D O N :

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A

LETTER, &c.



AVING promised the Publick a System of Politicks, or rather a Plan of Operations, for rescuing the Nation from the Difficulties and Dangers into which the Ingratitude and Perfidy of *France* and *Spain* have plunged Her, I most humbly beg your Patronage

nage of so honest and necessary a Work. I am still untinctured with Party-Prejudices, I am altogether unbiass'd by popular Clamour, I am quite averse to Misrepresentations, and disdain any ungenerous Means to distress You; wherefore as I wish You no Harm; I hope I shall give You no Offence, in speaking with that Freedom which is attach'd to the Birth-right of a *Briton*, when accompany'd with the Duty to his King and Country, and a becoming Respect to their Minister.

I wish with all my Soul, Sir, that the Convention had been such as to have deserved universal Approbation; but in my humble Opinion, Mr. Keene deserves Censure for the Preamble to it. We were Complainants, we were Demanders of Satisfaction for the most atrocious Affronts, the greatest Injuries that, perhaps,

haps, any one independent Nation had ever received from another; and after fruitless Treaties, after numerous, tedious Negotiations to no Purpose, We arm'd at a vast Expence to obtain that Satisfaction for the numberless Robberies committed upon Us by the *Spaniards*, which had been so long and so insolently denied to our Sollicitations and Entreaties; We arm'd, I say, to obtain that Satisfaction, and to vindicate the Honour of our insulted Country, and therefore the Preamble to the Convention ought to have been couch'd in a Stile suitable to the Occasion, instead of obliquely giving the Lye, in the Face of all *Europe*, to the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, and their respective Addresses to our Sovereign. "Whereas, says the Preamble, Differences have arisen, between the two Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*,

“ *Spain*, on Account of the Visiting, Searching, and Taking of Vessels, the Seizing of Effects, the Regulating of Limits, and other Grievances alledged on each Side, as well in the *West-Indies*, as elsewhere, &c.” Here, Sir, permit me to observe that *Differences* is a very soft, a very tender Word, indeed, for *Plunders*, *Robberies*, *Imprisonments* and *Murders*. Permit me likewise to observe further, that the *Searching and Taking of Vessels, and the Seizing of Effects*, seem to have been but the Consequences of *Visiting*, as the Word is placed in this Preamble and the *Finding contraband Goods on board*. This at first Sight disculps the *Spaniards*, throws all the Fault upon *Britons*, makes Us guilty of carrying on an illicit Trade, and gives the World to understand that we have been unjust, both in our Complaints and our Conduct.

duct. The Words, " and other
 " Grievances alledged on each Side
 " as well in the *West-Indies*, as
 " elsewhere, &c." I apprehend too
 are very far from being to our Ad-
 vantage ; on each Side, may be
 construed that Damages were equal
 on both Sides ; that the *Spaniards*
 had as good a Right to complain of
 Injuries and demand Satisfaction as
 We had ; and, consequently, that
 the Noise We made about our Los-
 ses was a Clamour as unjustifyable
 as our Trade was illicit. If so, Sir,
 what becomes of the Resolutions and
 Addresses of the Legislature, and his
 Majesty's most gracious and heroick
 Answers to Them ? Regulating of
 Limits and elsewhere, are also Words
 of a large Extent ; they prognosti-
 cate no great Success to Us in a fu-
 ture Treaty, and may as well squint
 at *Port-Mahon*, *Gibraltar* and *Ja-
 maica*, as at *Georgia*. I may, per-

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haps, be singular in my Opinion ; I wish I may be so ; but had I been in Mr. Keene's Place, I would as soon have parted with my Right Hand, as have sign'd such a Preamble ; or, indeed, any Preamble that was not to the following Purport.

“ WHEREAS the Governors of
 “ the *Havanna*, *Porto-Rico*, and o-
 “ ther Places in the *Spanish West-
 “ Indies*, have, contrary to the In-
 “ tentions of his Catholick Majesty,
 “ and in Violation of the Treaties
 “ subsisting between between the
 “ two Crowns of *Great Britain* and
 “ *Spain*, commission'd *Guarda Costas*
 “ to cruize on all *British* Ships sail-
 “ ing to and from *Great Britain* and
 “ her *American* Colonies ; and
 “ whereas the said *Guarda Costas*
 “ have, contrary to the above Tre-
 “ aries and the *Law of Nations*, seiz-
 “ ed and made Prize of several
 “ *British* Ships on the high Seas,
 “ and

" and also treated the Commanders
 " and Crews of the said Ships with
 " a Barbarity never before practised
 " among civilized Nations, nor ever
 " known amost the most cruel Bar-
 " barians, to the great Damage
 " of the Merchants of *Great Bri-*
 " *tain*, to the Stagnation of their
 " Trade, and to the high Dishonour
 " of the *British* Nation. And
 " whereas the King of *Great Bri-*
 " *tain*, through his paternal Affec-
 " tion to his Subjects and the Pro-
 " tection he owes Them, by his
 " kingly Office, and from a just Re-
 " gard to his own personal Honour
 " and the Dignity of his Crown, has
 " caused the manifold Depredations,
 " Plunders, Murders, Imprisonments
 " and other Cruelties, Barbarities,
 " and Injustices committed by the
 " *Spanish* Governors and *Guarda-*
 " *Costas*, on the Effects and Persons
 " of his said Subjects to be repre-

“ fented to his Catholick Majesty,
“ with Demand of immediate Satis-
“ faction for the same ; and his Ca-
“ tholick Majesty, through his
“ known Equity and Justice, and
“ Abhorrence of such barbarous
“ Proceedings in his Subjects, be-
“ ing disposed not only to give the
“ said Satisfaction, and ample Secu-
“ rity and Insults for the future, but
“ to shew the brotherly Affection
“ he has for his *Britannick* Majesty,
“ as well as Regard for the Honour
“ of the *British* Nation, and mani-
“ fest the Sincerity of his Intentions
“ to prevent an open Rupture be-
“ tween the two Crowns ; for these
“ Reasons his Majesty the King of
“ *Great Britain*, and his Majesty
“ the King of *Spain* have, &c.” A
Preamble of this Nature, Sir, would
have become a Nation possessed of
two hundred Men of War, and such
a Preamble it is not to be doubted
but

but Mr. *Keene* had Instructions to insist upon, and which it is as little to be doubted was refused by *Spain*, through the under-hand Instigations of *France*. x

I am so thoroughly persuaded that You have not only Bowels for your Country, but Talents to serve Her effectually, though some sanguine Writers will not allow that you have have either; this, I say, I am so thoroughly persuaded of, that I am morally sure nothing has been wanting on your Side, as far as the almost insuperable Obstacle you met with, would give you Leave to exert yourself. But alas! Sir, those Obstacles, by the Principle of which I mean the Artifices and underhand Intrigues of *France*, will always exist, except you resolve to rouse up all that is worthy and great in you, and courageously determine to break through them. When you take that Resolu-

Resolution, so worthy of yourself, so worthy of a Minister of *Great Britain*, I dare to venture to pronounce you triumphant. As the Lyon in the Toils stood in need of the Assistance of the Mouse, I shall humbly make you an offer of mine in such practicable Advice as with your Approbation can hardly fail to disintangle your Country, bring down the Haughtiness of *Spain*, and turn the Tables once more upon *France*. But previous to that Advice, give me Leave, Sir, to Offer a Word or two concerning the Conduct of the Court of *Versailles*, and to quit the Convention without presuming to meddle with any of the Articles of it.

IF you have been reprehensible in any Part of your Conduct, as to foreign Affairs, You have been in nothing more so than in the Confidence you have had in the Faith and Honour

nour of the *French* Court. Candid, grateful and sincere in yourself, you thought the *French* Minister would repay you with equal Candour, Sincerity and Gratitude ; this indeed would have been but natural for you to expect, if History for near eleven Centuries, had not warn'd you that no Trust is to be reposed in the Gratitude or Honour of the *French* Ministers and their Monarchs. *France* has had but one *Charlemagne*, but one *St. Louis*, and but one *Charles* the 7th. in all the Course of her Monarchy. I am therefore afraid that your Credulity and good Opinion of Her has made your Country her Dupe ; and if we are become so, we must now implore your utmost Endeavour to shield Us from her Designs, and that Power to which your Conduct, tho' without any ill Intention on your Side, has contributed to raise Her.

IF *France* has design'd Us no Evil since the happy Acceffion of the august House of *Hanover* to the Crown of *Great Britain*, how came the present *French* King to take upon himself to promise King *Philip* to procure him the Restoration of *Gibraltar*? That *Louis* 15th promised such a Thing, is evident from his own * *Manifesto* publish'd at *Paris* the 9th of *January*, 1719, N. S. and I think it is as evident that, after such a Piece of — what shall I call it, Sir? — in presuming to promise any Part of our Dominions to another Prince, *Britain* ought to have kept the *French* Court at Arms-Length, instead of chiming in with,

or

* The Words are, his Majesty's Promise to procure Him the Restoration of *Gibraltar*, which so sensibly touches the whole Spanish Nation, and which her King has so earnestly desired of a long Time.

or at least permitting the Progress of those Measures that have, since the Death of Queen *Anne*, contributed to the present overgrown monstrous Power of *France*.

IF *France* has design'd Us no Evil since the Death of Queen *Anne*, why did she, in Violation of that so much, by the *Daily Gazetteer* Writers, cry-ed-out-against Treaty of *Utrecht*, open the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and put it in a Condition to receive Ships of 40 or 50 Guns? And why did *Great Britain* indolently and tamely suffer so glaring a Violation of one of the very best Articles of the Treaty of *Utrecht*?

IF *France* has no Evil in Petto for Us and the Protestant Religion, why is she endeavouring to defeat the King of *Prussia* of his Right to the Dutchy of *Juliers* and *Bergue*?

C

And

And why is she putting herself to what would be otherwise a needless, and, indeed, very useless Expence in making a Harbour at *Gravelines*, in adding new Fortifications to *Boulogne*, and in fortifying and enlarging the Port of *Cherbourg*? If she has no latent Designs against *Britain*, why is she fortifying so many Frontiers at once just opposite to Us?

IF *France* has no Designs against our present happy Establishment, why has she enter'd into a Treaty of Subsidy with *Sweden*, which will cost her Nine Millions of Livres, in order to keep that Crown from entering into any Treaty for Ten Years to come, with any Power in *Europe*, by which is principally meant *Great Britain*, without the Consent of *France*? And why she has been leaving no Stone unturn'd to bring *Denmark* to accept of the like Subsidy

sidy upon the like Conditions ? Are these Measures any Tokens of Friendship to Us ; or are they not rather Prognosticks of some sudden Mischief design'd against our Country, when *France* has secured all our ancient Allies to herself, or at least wean'd them from Us ? — With this View is she not also endeavouring, with all her usual Arts and Intrigues, to get *Russia* into an Alliance with her ? If she succeeds she doubles our Difficulties.

OUR News Papers tell Us that *France* is likewise making a Treaty with *Spain* for the reciprocal Security of their Trade and Navigation in *America* ; can You then, Sir, if this News be true, have a clearer Demonstration that the Intrigues of *Versailles* have clogg'd all your Negotiations at *Madrid* for obtaining Satisfaction for our plunder'd Merchants,

chants, future Security for our Trade, and Reparation of Honour for our insulted Country? No, Sir, you cannot; *France* has clogg'd all your Measures, and traversed every Step of your Conduct for the Interest of *Britain*, even when you were obliging her most. But in the Return she has all along made you, she has not been more ungrateful, nor more unjust to you and *Great Britain* than she has been to all other Persons and States that ever have been serviceable to her. *Naples, Sicily* in general and the sacrificed People of *Messina* in particular, *Cyprus, Genoa, Poland, Metz in Lorraine, Ireland, King James II. the Duke of Mantua*, and a Multitude of other illustrious Persons and Places are standing Monuments of her Perfidy and Ingratitude, and will remain so to the latest Posterity. *Pilate*, who Historians say, was a

Frenchman

Frenchman (that is, born in the Country now call'd *France*) put the Question to Our Lord JESUS CHRIST *Quid est Veritas?* But did not stay for an Answer; which was sufficient to shew that his Countrymen of old had not the least Acquaintance with Truth, and that he had as little Desire to know her as any of them. His washing his Hands demonstrated that he had been a shuffling Rascal *ab Origine*; and I know a certain modern Minister, who perhaps, by Way of Imitation, is always rubbing his Hands over one another and smiling most graciously when he is promising any Thing he never intends to perform, and negotiating with a Design to deceive.

SIR, when I think how *France* has used you, how she has abused your but too fatally good Opinion of her;

I can hardly keep within the Bounds of Patience. You know best, indeed, what Advances, what Proffers of her good Offices she made to you, for accommodating Matters between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, when she saw the Resentment of *Britons* beginning to kindle into Rage at the daily Wrongs they received, and the haughty, the affected Delays of the *Spanish* Court to give them Satisfaction. These Things, I say, you are certainly the best Judge of; but the whole *British* Nation may now easily perceive that while the *French* pretended to the Office of Mediators, they practised that of Sowers of Contention, and took the Opportunity of our arming, to make a Marriage between the Infant Don *PHILIP* and the eldest Daughter of *Louis* the 15th, if not likewise another between the *DAUPHIN* and the eldest *Infanta* of *Spain*. Those Marriages threaten

threaten Us with the most dangerous Consequences. The eldest *Madame* of *France* is to arrive in *Spain* before the Expiration of the eight Months allow'd for our Treaty, now begun I suppose, with the Catholick Court ; and then every Man may guesf how the Treaty is likely to go.

IF but the first of those Marriages takes Place, the Treaty may spin out not only eight Months, but likewise until the Designs of *France* and *Spain* against Us are ripe for Execution. Besides, Sir, it is easy to foresee, by that Marriage, that the Duke of *Lorrain* is not to continue long Great Duke of *Tuscany*, nor the Emperor to hold the Possession of *Parma* and *Placentia*. No, Sir, those three Dutchies will, in all human Appearance, fall to the share of Don *Philip*, and very probably be erected into a King-

Kingdom, for the greater Grandeur of the eldest *Madame of France*. Nay, Sir, his Imperial Majesty will also, in all Probability be stript of the *Milanese* too, if another Marriage takes Place that is talk'd of, between the second *Madame of France* and the King of *Sardinia*'s eldest Son; the Consequence of all which will be the putting the Emperor further out of Condition of being an useful Ally to *Great Britain* upon any future Occasion; to which the *Turkish* War, privately kept up by *France*, under the Mask of a pretended Mediation, will further contribute. And yet this is not all the Damage we are to expect from those Marriages, or even the first of them; a total Prohibition of our Trade to the greatest Part of *Italy* will immediately follow, if we don't patiently submit to the Search and Seizure of our Ships by the *Spanish Guarda*

Guarda Costas in the *American Seas*, and the Confiscation of them by the Courts of Judicature in the *Spanish West-Indies*; or if We don't in Time exert that Strength, of which our Situation and the Products of these Islands and the Seas that surround them have still left Us Masters, notwithstanding all lost Opportunities, and all past Errors.

A late *Dutch Mail* tells Us, in the Article from *Madrid*, that the *Spanish King* sent Orders to all his Sea Ports in *Spain*, for an Account of the Number of Seamen belonging to them, and that their Number, after an exact Enquiry, was found to amount to 30,000; of which I may venture to affirm that Half are natural born Subjects of *Britain*. The same Mail further says, that the *Spaniards* are fitting

D out

out a Fleet at *Cadiz* with all pos-
ible Expedition. But what Service
can it be for, Sir, except against
Tuscany, if you are sure of the In-
tentions of *Spain* to grant that fu-
ture Security to our Trade and Na-
vigation in *America*, which not on-
ly our Honour, but even our Pre-
servation obliges Us to infist upon,
let the Expence, or even the Dan-
ger be never so great? It is better
to die like Men, with our Swords in
our Hands, than to negociate our-
selves into the wretched, the despi-
cable Condition of being trampled
upon and treated as *Slaves*, by a
Nation, that, notwithstanding all
their Pride and Insolence, never
were, nor ever can be a Match for
Us but through our own *Fault*,
whether that Fault proceeds from
Infatuation, or from the greater
Curſe Corruption.

A

A safe and honourable Peace I am afraid you can never expect from *Spain*, without the Mediation of Blows, as long as the Intrigues of *France* can prevent it. *Spain*, indeed, seems to listen to Terms of Accommodation, and has even signed a *Convention*; but, Sir, may not this possibly be all Grimace on her Side? Does she not want to get Home her *Affogues* Ships and her Galleons, in which the *Wool* of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* has given the *French* the *best Share*? When they arrive, which I dare venture to say will be before the Treaty is finish'd, you may perhaps hear her change her Note.

GIVE me Leave, Sir, to conclude in reminding you, that *Louis XV.* not only promised, but engaged

D 2 himself

himself to obtain for the King of *Spain* the Restitution of *Gibraltar* ; these, Sir, are the very Words of the *French King's Manifesto* ; but upon what Grounds he made so unprecedented a Promise, and enter'd into so surprizing an Engagement, I shall not enquire. The Promise is made, the Engagement is enter'd into, the King of *Spain* will always insist upon the Performance of them, and the *French King* has likewise an Interest to perform them if possible ; because he then removes the great Bar which the Treaty of *Utrecht* put to the Junction of the *Toulon* and *Brest* Squadrons, which is one of the best Things that ever hath been done for *Britain*. This Promise of the *French King* is indeed, Sir, a knotty Point ; and (I repeat it once more) my humble Opinion is, that we can have no solid Peace with *Spain*, let her sign

sign never so many Conventions and Treaties as long as *Gibraltar* remains in our Hands, or until we bravely declare to her, by the Mouths of our Cannon, that *Britain* is now resolved to bury herself in her own Ruins rather than either ingloriously part with *Gibraltar* or basely submit to Depredations or Insults, through any Considerations whatsoever.

As I have thus with the Freedom of a *Briton*, and, I hope, with the good Manners of a Gentleman, given you my Opinion of the present Situation of our Affairs; I shall in my next, if you please to permit me, give you my Advice how to raise your Country again to that Figure in *Europe* which she made in the most glorious Part of the Reign of Queen *Anne*.

(30)

I HAVE the Honour to be with
sincere Wishes for your Preservation,
and profound Respect for your Per-
son,

S I R,

Your most humble,

most obedient,

most devoted Servant,

Grays-Inn,
March 12, 1739.



CALEB DANVERS.



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